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1. The following material is being forwarded to you in the belief that it may be of interest:

Hsin Wen Tzu Liao (Chinese Communist Party publication), dated 10 November 1947, with Supplements #2 and #3; translations attached.

2. This material is for your retention.

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Supplementary Edition of News Reports

No: 2

10 November 1947

Summary of contents:

1. Terrorism cannot save Chiang regime from internal collapse.
2. ( UP Dispatch from Peiping ) - The probe into the activities of <sup>(孫連仲)</sup> SUN Lien-chung's  
Lopai Headquarters by the Nanking Central authorities, and the detention of  
high staff officers and government officials in the same province.
3. ( Sin Hua News Agency, Northwest Dispatch ) - An appeal made by the renowned  
general CHAO Shou-shan <sup>(趙壽山)</sup> to all local units in Chiang's camp to  
leave the battlefield and join the people's rank.
4. ( Via Air Mail from Shanghai, 29 Sept. and 1 Oct. ) - The "white terror" in  
Shanghai - the arrest of numerous power company employees and others.
5. ( UP Dispatch from Peiping ) - The "white terror" in Peiping - the arrest of  
four students of Peiping University and others.
6. ( Via Air Mail from Shanghai ) - Mass arrest in Shanghai in September and early  
October.
7. The dissolution of the Democratic League by Chiang.  
- from an editorial by the Sin Hua News Agency.
8. ( UP Dispatch from Shanghai, 28 October ) - Statement made by CHANG Lan <sup>(張瀾)</sup>,  
Chairman of the Democratic League, reiterating the undeviating aim of the league.
9. ( Sin Hua News Agency, Northwest Dispatch ) - The fate of HU Tsung-nan <sup>(胡宗南)</sup>'s  
tank unit.
10. ( Sin Hua News Agency, Northwest Dispatch ) - The revenge of the Liberation Army  
for wrongs inflicted on the people by the Nationalist troops and officials.
11. ( UP Dispatch from Peiping ) - The Communist forces are entrenched only about  
20 miles outside the Peiping City.

~~REGISTRY COPY~~

Attachment 4

Approved For Release 2002/08/14 : CIA-RDP83-00415R001200040003-0

12. A poem by LIU Po-ch'eng (刘伯承) entitled "The Battle of Yang-shan-chi (杨山集)"
  13. An anecdote about China's dictator Chiang.
  14. Chiang wants to study the party principles and the party regulations of the Communist Party.
  15. Marshall's opinion of an ideal wife - "A wife is like the tail of a kite".
  16. Anecdotes on freedom of speech in schools.
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Approved For Release 2002/08/14 : CIA-RDP83-00415R001200040003-0

II The intellectual ~~people~~ and the young students in China.

an extract from "The Revolution in China and the Chinese Communist Party".

III China's intelligentsia.

an extract from "Discussing the United Government",

IV The intelligentsia and discipline.

an extract from "Democracy and Discipline in the Party" by Lenin and Stalin.

V a model for China's intellectual people to follow in serving the people.

Articles on the life and works of CHOU T'ao-fen by several Chinese Communist writers and leaders. (鄒韜奮)

ENCLOSURE #1

Attach. #2  
~~Pamphlet #2~~

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News Reports No: 3

Special issue on the occupation of Shih-chia-chuang (石家莊) by the  
Shansi-Chahar-Hopei People's Liberation Army at noon, 12 November after  
six days and six nights of battle.

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ENCLOSURE

#2

RE-EDUCATION OF CHINA'S INTELLIGENTSIA

By MAO Hsun (毛迅); published in "News Reports" (新聞資料).

~~Source: Communist Central Committee, 1946.~~

~~Document, 1946.~~

In the ~~decision~~ <sup>resolution passed by</sup> the Communist Central Government on 1 December of last year (TN-1946?), the matter pertaining to the re-education of China's intelligentsia was listed as being an important task. ~~The~~ Communist Central authorities had very clearly pointed out the outstanding characteristics of China's intellectuals, the position they occupy and the part they must play in China's revolution. The authorities had, moreover, adopted the following slogans: "Intellectualization of the staff workers of various farm and labor committees" and the "Proletarianization of the intellectuals". In order to adhere faithfully to the slogans, we must first discuss in detail the ~~decision~~ <sup>resolution passed by</sup> the Government and also the means of putting it into effect. My general opinion in connection with this subject may be briefly stated as follows:

I. The Need for the Re-education of China's Intelligentsia

The intellectual ~~class~~ in China must be re-educated because of ~~their~~ numerous shortcomings which are hindering the progress of the national revolution. These shortcomings ~~are the~~ <sup>are the</sup> result of certain characteristics which are peculiar to the Chinese people and ~~are the~~ <sup>are the</sup> result of the poverty of the Chinese farmers and workers. In China, to become educated is recognized as the height of all ambitions. The percentage of educated people in China, however, is very small because ~~under~~ <sup>under</sup> the constant oppression of the ~~capitalists~~ <sup>landlords</sup> and the landlords,

AN ANECDOTE ABOUT DICTATOR CHIANG KAI-SHEK

(An article published in the "News Reports"  
Issue No. 2, 10 November 1947).

During the Sino-Japanese War, the Chinese Communists cooperated with the Kuomintang in resisting the Japanese. Although nominally the Communists were under the command of the Kuomintang, the Communists, in many instances, had a much better and deeper understanding of the actual military and political problems than the Kuomintang, though the latter has never admitted thus. Two Communist books, "A Discussion on Extended Warfare" (論持久戰) and "A Discussion on the New Phase" (論新階段) are well known not only among the people in China but also in other foreign countries. It is said that after CHIANG Kai-shek read another Chinese Communist book, "Discussion <sup>concerning</sup> For a Coalition Government" (論聯合政府) he remarked to CH'EN Pu-lei (陳布留): "See! What a wonderful book the Communists wrote! Why can't we.....?" CHIANG's words had the implication that CH'EN Pu-lei (陳布留) should write something better for him in the future than long articles full of stiff phrases that nobody is interested in reading. CH'EN answered without hesitation: "This book was written by MAO Tse-tung himself!" CHIANG was left speechless by that remark.

.....

CHIANG KAI-SHEK WANTS TO STUDY THE PARTY PRINCIPLES AND THE  
PARTY REGULATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(An article published in the "News Reports" Issue No.2,  
10 November 1947).

In a reliable dispatch from Nanking, the Associated Press stated that CHIANG Kai-shek has ordered the distribution among the members of the Central Executive Committee of a number of pamphlets containing discussions on Communist doctrines and policies. CHIANG has also instructed all committee members to study Communism carefully and determine the advantages and disadvantages of its underlying principles. This is certainly interesting news. The report further stated that the principal topic discussed in the pamphlets was the Communist system of equal land distribution among the farmers. To compete with the Communists, the Central Government has already drafted a plan for agrarian reform based on the "Theory of the Rights of All People to Own Land" as taught by Dr. SUN Yat-sen. One of the high Kuomintang officials told the reporter of the Associated Press that, since the Central authorities were afraid that such a plan may be opposed by the landowners, the plan had never been thoroughly carried out.

According to CH'EN Li-fu (陳立夫) (he ought to know about his country) more than 80 percent of the entire population in China are farmers. Although there are still no accurate statistics, it is generally believed that only between 10 to 15 percent of the entire population of China are landowners. If the "Theory of the Rights of All People to Own Land", as advocated by Dr. SUN Yat-sen, is to be put into effect, naturally it would estrange all landowners from the government.



On the other ~~hand~~, such a measure would win the approval and support of an overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. However, history has taught us that CHIANG can never carry out what he has learned and planned. His government can never follow the way of the Communists, and therefore, he can never escape his inevitable fate.

.....

most of the farmers and workers cannot afford any schooling. Also, because Chinese chirography is very difficult, <sup>because</sup> and the farmers and workers have very little opportunity to study, most of the educated people come from the families of the capitalistic and propertied-classes. The intellectuals themselves mostly belong to the small-propertied class. Thus, because of their own background and that of their family the majority of China's intellectuals are easily susceptible to capitalist ~~te~~ teachings.

The old concept of education placed theory and practice into two separate categories. The only reason for seeking knowledge was to gain fame and wealth. Most of the text-books were concerned with abstract theories which had very little connection with the reality. As a result all a person had to do to be educated was to shut himself in a house and devote his entire time to reading books. As an old Chinese saying goes: "Do not ask about the affairs outside your window, but put your heart and soul into your studies". This was how the educated ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup> in China pursued their studies. As a result, the educated persons were mostly idealists who paid no attention to practical matters. Lenin once said <sup>that</sup> "The most disgusting characteristic <sup>of</sup> members of the capitalistic class is their tendency to theorize always with complete disregard for reality".

In the past, the majority of the intellectuals were engaged in "mental labor". There is, moreover, an old saying that "mental laborers" should rule over "physical laborers". Therefore, "mental labor" <sup>has been</sup> ~~was~~ highly esteemed while "physical labor" completely despised.

In the past, the method of teaching, the subjects taught, etc., were all "individualistic" in nature. All that a student learned was for the individual himself, for his own advancement. Thus the educated people in China have gradually become extremely individualistic and consequently very much disorganized.

II. Conditions that are favorable to the proposed re-education  
of the Intelligentsia

However, the Chinese intelligentsia has also its good characteristics and, ~~therefore~~, can be re-educated:

(1) The wide-spread poverty among China's intelligentsia.

The majority of China's intellectuals belong to the small-propertied class, but actually they are poor. Their standard of living is very low, and this is especially true in the case of the progressive and revolutionary intellectuals. Their financial plight, moreover, is ~~getting~~ <sup>becoming</sup> worse every day. Because there are signs everywhere of discontent with the existing situation, the intelligentsia can certainly be expected to join in the revolution.

(2) "Knowledge" and "education" in China.

Although it is true that in China "knowledge" is highly regarded by the general public, that the intellectuals are generally respected, and that the government is advocating mass education, "knowledge" is still not appreciated by the ruling class. In other words, to ~~obtain~~ <sup>obtain</sup> employment, it is not necessary to have a good education or <sup>mechanical</sup> skill; one only has to ~~possess~~ <sup>have</sup> the proper "connections". Proper family connections, proper social connections, etc. are the prerequisites for obtaining employment. For this reason, most of the truly well-educated people are unemployed. The saying among the students that "graduation means unemployment" has now become more or less a ~~general rule~~ <sup>accepted axiom</sup>. The country is badly in need of skilled workers, and yet, university graduates are confronted with the fact that there is a "surplus of educated people". The situation is very disappointing for the intellectuals, who, in order to survive, have to find some means of livelihood.

(3) Class and culture in China.

The capitalistic and propertied classes are, in themselves, weak and

inefficient. Therefore, in order to enforce their rule upon the proletariat, they have to concentrate all their strength on military preparations and in the setting up of a police force and secret intelligence organizations. They are unable to pay their cultural workers a fraction as well as the British and Americans are paying their propaganda workers; as a result, there are very few cultural workers writing for the capitalistic ~~and petty bourgeois~~ classes in China.

In the field of economics, politics and art, the capitalistic ~~and petty bourgeois~~ classes have produced very little creative work. Even the translations of famous foreign literature have mostly been done by the comparatively progressive writers of the small-property class. The capitalistic class have conducted several "literary campaigns" in the satirical style of Don Quixote, but failed before these campaigns were even properly started. Even in these few "literary campaigns" the help of the secret intelligence and the military forces were needed.

The proletariat, however, have trained quite a number of outstanding cultural workers within a short period of time. "Leftist" associations have always been the center of new cultural movements. Thus, China's intelligentsia is very little influenced by the capitalists while greatly influenced by the sincere efforts of the proletariat.

(4) The inherent character of the intelligentsia.

The educated class has a fixed cultural standard. Its members live an intellectual life, and are therefore, ~~able~~ capable of understanding and accepting the doctrines of Marx and Lenin.

III. Ways of carrying out the proposed  
re-education program.

A. First, we must start with theory because the intellectuals can be approached much more easily through theory. The intellectuals who joined in the revolutionary movement have, in the main, first studied theory intensively.

~~Further~~ the intellectuals "build their faith on theories". They are willing to fight for the principles of Marx and Lenin and even go so far as to die for their belief because they know what they believe in is right. In cases where intellectual members of the Communist Party have betrayed the party, ~~because~~ <sup>it was</sup> ~~in addition to their own personal~~ <sup>teaching</sup> ~~their own various social motives, generally~~ <sup>about theory</sup> because they did not have a thorough understanding of the principles of Marx and Lenin. The important points to remember when ~~giving~~ <sup>teaching</sup> ~~educational~~ <sup>about theory</sup> to the intelligentsia are the following:

1. The inseparability of theory and practice.

What prevents the educated people from correctly understanding and accepting the doctrines of Marx and Lenin is their complete disregard for the practical aspects of these doctrines. The educated members of the Communist Party understand theories far better than the farmers or laborers, and yet when it comes to putting these theories into practice, many of them commit countless errors and blunders. As the disparity between theory and practice is the most serious problem among the intellectual ~~members~~ <sup>gentle</sup> of the Communist Party, particular ~~attention~~ <sup>attention</sup> should be ~~given~~ <sup>given</sup> on this ~~point~~ <sup>matter</sup> when attempting ~~to~~ <sup>not made</sup> to educate them. Concrete examples should be used to explain every problem and care must be taken in choosing ~~the right~~ <sup>suitable</sup> problems. Not only must we explain "how to apply the theories" <sup>in a general way</sup> but also "how to apply the theories <sup>particular</sup> to actual situations".

2. Because the intellectuals are educated and have a ~~good~~ <sup>good</sup> understanding of things, they are frequently too idealistic. They are always looking for more difficult problems. Generally, they can cite many complex theories of Marx and Engels on philosophy and economics. They may even be able to lecture very well on the theories of ~~the theories of~~ <sup>the theories of</sup> "Hegel", "Fichte", "Kant", etc., but they do not comprehend fully the meaning <sup>of</sup> such fundamental ~~terms~~ <sup>terms</sup> as "class", "party", "the relationship between the Communist Party and

the proletariat", etc.; therefore, the principles they believe in can only be superficial. Hence, the second ~~notable~~ <sup>worth</sup> point <sup>ing</sup> to remember when teaching them is that strong emphasis should be laid on the importance of thoroughly comprehending the fundamental principles and problems. When dealing with more complex and abstract problems, their relation with the fundamental problems should be emphasized. For example, not only should they ~~know the theories of~~ <sup>be familiar with such</sup> ~~theories of~~ <sup>the</sup> "relativity of unity" and understand ~~the relation between~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~absolute and relative surplus value~~ <sup>absolute</sup>, "the difference between absolute surplus value and relative surplus value" and the "inter-change of matter and quantity", but they must also be well aware that the above problems, however abstract, are closely related to the main problems connected with the proletarian revolution.

B. The lack of proper balance between theory and practice, as mentioned above, is a very serious shortcoming of the intelligentsia. To remedy this, besides converting the intellectuals with theoretical training as stated in the above, <sup>we</sup> ~~they~~ should ~~be~~ <sup>give</sup> ~~them~~ more opportunities to participate in ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~work~~ <sup>connected with</sup> the class struggle. They will then come to know the truth and practicability of the theory they learned by the work they do. Only through actual work and participating in the class struggle can theory and practice be reconciled. Theories that lack practicability will fail when faced with reality. A number of our comrades are of the opinion that, as most of the intellectuals are not very efficient in doing practical work, they should be asked to do more writing and to indulge in other cultural activities. Certain intellectuals themselves also believe in the wisdom of such division of labor which enables them to utilize their knowledge to the best advantage. Such a view, however, is not completely correct. To re-educate the intelligentsia, we must <sup>give</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>the opportunity to</sup> ~~intellectuals~~ take part in practical work (naturally with due consideration for their individual abilities) and the intellectuals, on their part, must

*also* avail themselves of every opportunity to participate actively in all practical work. Because of ~~the~~ lack of experience, it may be unavoidable that they make some mistakes in the beginning, but this does not matter much for this is the way to learn. We must not, from fear of making mistakes, ~~shrink~~ <sup>shrink</sup> from what we must do. This would be tantamount to "avoiding food for fear of choking".

C. The past environment, ways of living, occupations, etc. of China's intellectuals all combined to impress on them certain special characteristics. Therefore, in order to re-educate China's intelligentsia, we must carefully consider, and base our activities upon these characteristics, one of the most important of which is the "individualism" of the intellectuals. Most of the intellectuals are individualistic in nature for they are a group of freedom-loving people. They live a conservative and narrow life, a life which is far from being practical. Such a life pays particular attention to the personal affairs and advancement of the individual, thus creating a very serious tendency towards "individualism". As a result, an obstinate attitude concerning "individualism" is evident among most of the intellectuals. They believe that "it is much easier to remove mountains and change the course of rivers than to change one's natural disposition". By this is meant that no one should interfere with one's "individuality". Therefore, simply to persuade the intellectuals to work in accordance with principles, without paying special attention to their "individuality", would certainly meet with failure. However, there are two ways of facing this problem. First, the intellectuals themselves should, on their part, overcome their "individuality" and try always to adhere strictly to the principle involved in <sup>the</sup> situation. They should, without bias, weigh their "individuality" against the <sup>value</sup> ~~importance~~ of the "principle". ~~They should~~ not <sup>place</sup> ~~stress~~ too much <sup>importance on</sup> ~~their~~ "individuality". Secondly, the leaders, should take note of each member's "individuality" and have a thorough understanding of "individualism" in an intellectual. Besides placing emphasis on the adherence to principles, they

should study carefully the individual characteristics of each member. However, they must also guard against going to the other extreme of sacrificing principle for the sake of satisfying the "individuality" of a member, because, after all, the principle is what is most important. "Individuality" which impedes the enforcement of, and is detrimental to, the principle should be immediately removed. All ~~petty~~ and unsound "individuality" should be ~~overcome~~ <sup>eliminated</sup> - though we must be patient and do away with the various forms of "individuality" gradually. Also, <sup>every</sup> efforts should be made to ~~play~~ <sup>bring out</sup> a person's ~~good~~ <sup>good</sup> qualities, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> his ~~bad~~ <sup>bad</sup> qualities. After all, we do not favor those who go to the extremes, either to the right or to the left - that is, those who only see the principle or those who only respect their own point of view.

D. Finally, we come to the question of "attitude". "Attitude" towards an intellectual, like the question of his "individuality", is a point which must not be overlooked. Among the intellectuals, especially among those who are new to the party and have had very little training and experience in party activities, pride and ~~love~~ <sup>love</sup> of honor are deeply rooted in their make ~~up~~ <sup>up</sup>. As a result, they care more about the manner in which they are told to do something than in what is to be done. Some of them even regard "correct attitude" as being the most important of all <sup>things</sup>. With them, often it is the "attitude" which decides everything, though outwardly they do not admit this. When asked to solve a problem or perform certain work, although they may be well aware of the fairness of the request, yet, if the manner in which they are asked to do the work is offensive, some of them ~~would~~ <sup>will</sup> do their work half-heartedly, some ~~would~~ <sup>will</sup> do their work poorly and others ~~would~~ <sup>will</sup> simply refuse to do the work at all, disregarding the most logical reasoning offered them. In dealing with "attitude" therefore, we must do the following. On the one hand, the intellectuals themselves should be made to understand that the placing of too



They should be made to judge a task by the nature of the task and not by the importance or unimportance attached to it by others. On the other hand, the leaders among our comrades should pay closer attention to their "attitude" towards <sup>others</sup> ~~others~~ and correctly estimate the ability and capacity of each individual <sup>comrade</sup> ~~comrade~~. The leaders should also thoroughly examine their own thoughts and actions so as to determine if there is anything wrong with their <sup>own</sup> "attitude". Although fundamentally ~~this~~ <sup>very</sup> is not a serious problem, yet it is one of those important problems that must not be overlooked, especially in connection with the intelligentsia.

The re-education of the intelligentsia is part of our over-all struggle. Our comrades of the intelligentsia should therefore bravely and willingly correct and improve themselves. <sup>make</sup> Some of our comrades tend to excuse <sup>continuing</sup> ~~themselves~~ for ~~persevering~~ <sup>in</sup> their <sup>bad habits</sup> ~~faults~~ and for lacking the courage to correct themselves), ~~our~~ <sup>also must learn to</sup> Our leaders should understand the shortcomings of each of our comrades and aid them in correcting these shortcomings. All these of course require great energy and courage.

Attachment #3

I. The <sup>reeducation</sup> ~~reorganization~~ of China's intelligentsia.

By MAO Shing (RL)

Summary of the contents.

1. The need for the <sup>reeducation</sup> ~~reorganization~~ of China's intelligentsia.

The commercialization of education in China and the isolation of its scholars from the outside world are tending to create among the intellectual people in China a passive attitude towards the people's revolution.

2. Conditions that are favorable to the proposed <sup>education</sup> ~~reorganization~~.

- a. The wide-spread poverty among China's intelligentsia.
- b. The secondary importance of "education" and "knowledge" in China.
- c. The presence of the majority of the intellectual people in the rank of China's proletariat.
- d. The inherent ~~receptibility~~ <sup>receptibility</sup> of intellectual people to new ideas.

3. Ways of carrying out the proposed <sup>education</sup> ~~reorganization~~.

- a. To convert with theories China's intellectual ~~people~~ to the teachings of Marx and Lenin.
- b. To teach the intellectual people in China the importance of practical experience.
- c. To overcome the "individualism" of the majority of China's intellectual ~~people~~.
- d. To overcome the narrow-minded attitude of the intellectual people in China.

ENCLOSURE

# 4

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